

Listening to the Stones

Essays on Architecture and Function
in Ancient Greek Sanctuaries
in Honour of Richard Alan Tomlinson

Edited by

Elena C. Partida and Barbara Schmidt-Dounas



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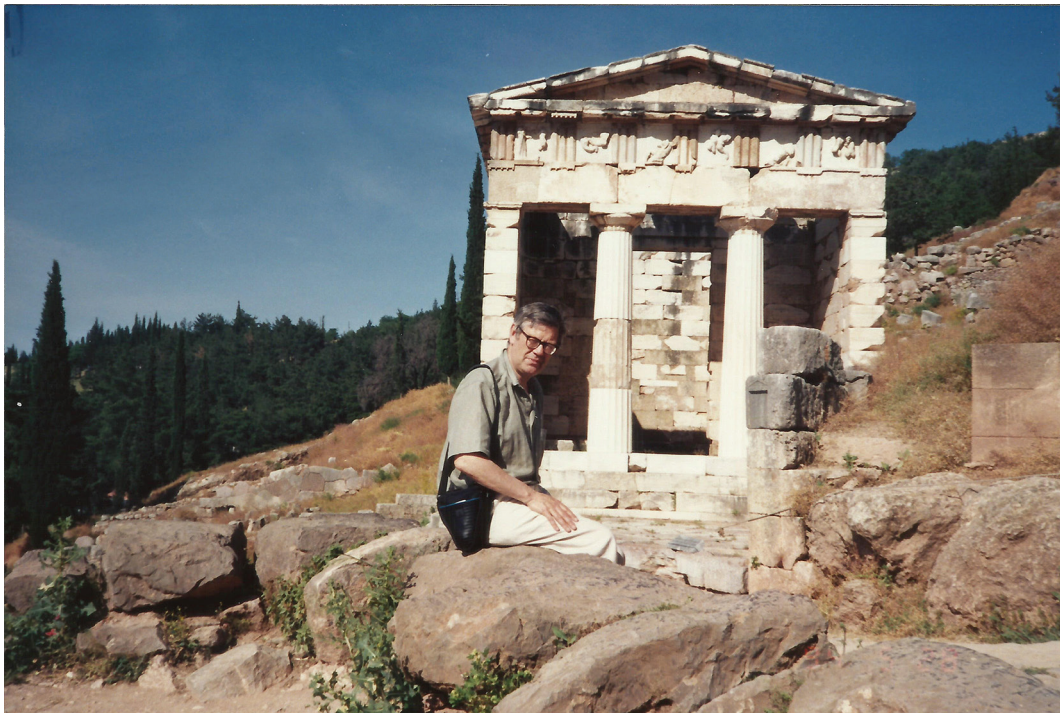
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Cover image 3D render of Delphi in c. 330 BC by John Goodinson.
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Richard Tomlinson in Delphi. May 1994



Richard Tomlinson in Amphissa. May 1994

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Temple and *Hestiatorion*. The Combined Edifice on Mount Çatallar Tepe (Turkey)

Frank Hulek

Summary

During the survey of Mycale (modern Dilek Dağları in western Asia Minor), H. Lohmann and his team discovered the ruins of an Ionic temple, dating to the middle of the 6th century BC. Since illegal excavations threatened it, a rescue excavation of the temple was carried out in three annual campaigns from 2005 to 2007. During this excavation, the entire remains of the temple were uncovered. With a length of 28.8 m (approximately 100 feet) and a width of 8.6 m the temple, facing east, is a *hekatompēdos*. The unique layout of the building combines a *pronaos* with eight interior columns in two rows with an almost quadrangular *naos*, which has two columns (centred above an older *naiskos*) and a large room in the western part of the building with three columns along the longitudinal axis. The west room was not accessed through the *pronaos* and *naos*, but directly from outside through a door at the western end of the southern wall. Based on this layout and the finds, the west room is interpreted as a room for banqueting. Thus, this building can be described as a combined building, uniting a temple and a *hestiatorion* under one and the same roof. In this paper, the building is compared to other examples of combined buildings in Archaic Greek architecture, in order to better understand its unique layout and its functions.

Περίληψη

Κατά τη διάρκεια επιφανειακής έρευνας στη Μυκάλη (σημερινή ονομασία Dilek Dağları στη δυτική Μικρά Ασία), ο H. Lohmann και η ομάδα του εντόπισαν τα ερείπια ιωνικού ναού των μέσων του 6ου αιώνα π.Χ. Για να αποσοβηθεί ο κίνδυνος λαθρανασκαφής, διεξήχθη σωστική ανασκαφή του ναού σε τρεις ετήσιες περιόδους, από το 2005 ως το 2007, οπότε και αποκαλύφθηκαν πλήρως τα κατάλοιπά του. Έχοντας μήκος 28,8 μ (περίπου 100 πόδες) και πλάτος 8,6 μ, ο ναός, προσανατολισμένος ανατολικά, είναι εκατόμπεδος. Η μοναδική κάτοψη αυτού του οικοδομήματος συνδυάζει πρόναο με οκτώ εσωτερικούς κίονες διατεταγμένους σε δύο σειρές με έναν σχεδόν τετράγωνο ναό, ο οποίος έχει δύο κίονες (διατεταγμένους κεντρικά πάνω από έναν αρχαιότερο ναΐσκο) και ένα μεγάλο δωμάτιο στο δυτικό τμήμα του κτιρίου με τρεις κίονες κατά μήκος του μακρού άξονα. Το δυτικό αυτό δωμάτιο δεν είχε πρόσβαση από τον πρόναο και το ναό μα απευθείας από έξω, διά μέσου θύρας στο δυτικό άκρο του νοτίου τοίχου. Βάσει αυτής της κάτοψης και των ευρημάτων, το δυτικό δωμάτιο ερμηνεύεται ως αίθουσα συμποσίων. Ως εκ τούτου, το οικοδόμημα δύναται να περιγραφεί ως σύνθετο, συνενώνοντας ναό και εστιατόριο κάτω από την ίδια στέγη. Στην παρούσα εργασία, το κτίριο αυτό συγκρίνεται με άλλα παραδείγματα σύνθετων κτιρίων της Αρχαϊκής ελληνικής αρχιτεκτονικής, προκειμένου να κατανοήσουμε καλύτερα τη μοναδική του κάτοψη και τις λειτουργίες του.

Key Words

Asia Minor; Archaic temple; Greek *symposium*; Ionic order; Mycale.

In his 1969 article on the Perachora *hestiatorion*, Richard Tomlinson established the feasting- and dining room as a feature of Greek architecture.¹ Correcting his approach, he later dated the building to the end of the 6th century BC and thus preponed the evolution of *hestiatoria* to the Archaic period.² This and other papers by the same author were an inspiration to my work on the sixth-century architecture of the temple on Çatallar Tepe.³ Accordingly, I feel greatly honoured to be invited to present part of this work in this volume.

¹ Leypold 2008: 6; Tomlinson 1969.

² Tomlinson 1990. Cf. Bergquist 1973: 44, fig. 6; Bergquist 1990: 29; Börker 1983; Goldstein 1978: 296–299.

³ The architecture of this temple has been the topic of my PhD dissertation at the University of Bochum (2014). See Hulek and Kirchner 2016; Hulek 2017a; Hulek 2017b; Hulek 2018. My dissertation was funded by a doctoral scholarship of the Ruhr University Research School (DFG GSC 98/1) and a scholarship for a one-year-stay in Greece

On the western shore of the Anatolian mainland, directly opposite to the Greek island of Samos, the promontory of Samsun (or Dilek) Dağları stretches as a steep ridge into the Aegean Sea. Those are the mountains called 'Mycale' by the ancient authors, famous for the battle between the Persians and the Greeks in 479 BC. Since the first European travellers came to this region, archaeological interest was focused on two sites, Kelebeş (modern Doğanbey), south of the ridge, where the ruins of the ancient city of Priene were identified and soon excavated, and Çanlı (modern Güzelçamlı), on the northern side, where the common sanctuary of the twelve Ionian cities, the *Panionion*, was assumed to have been situated. In the 1950s, G. Kleiner, P. Hommel, and W. Müller-Wiener excavated different

by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

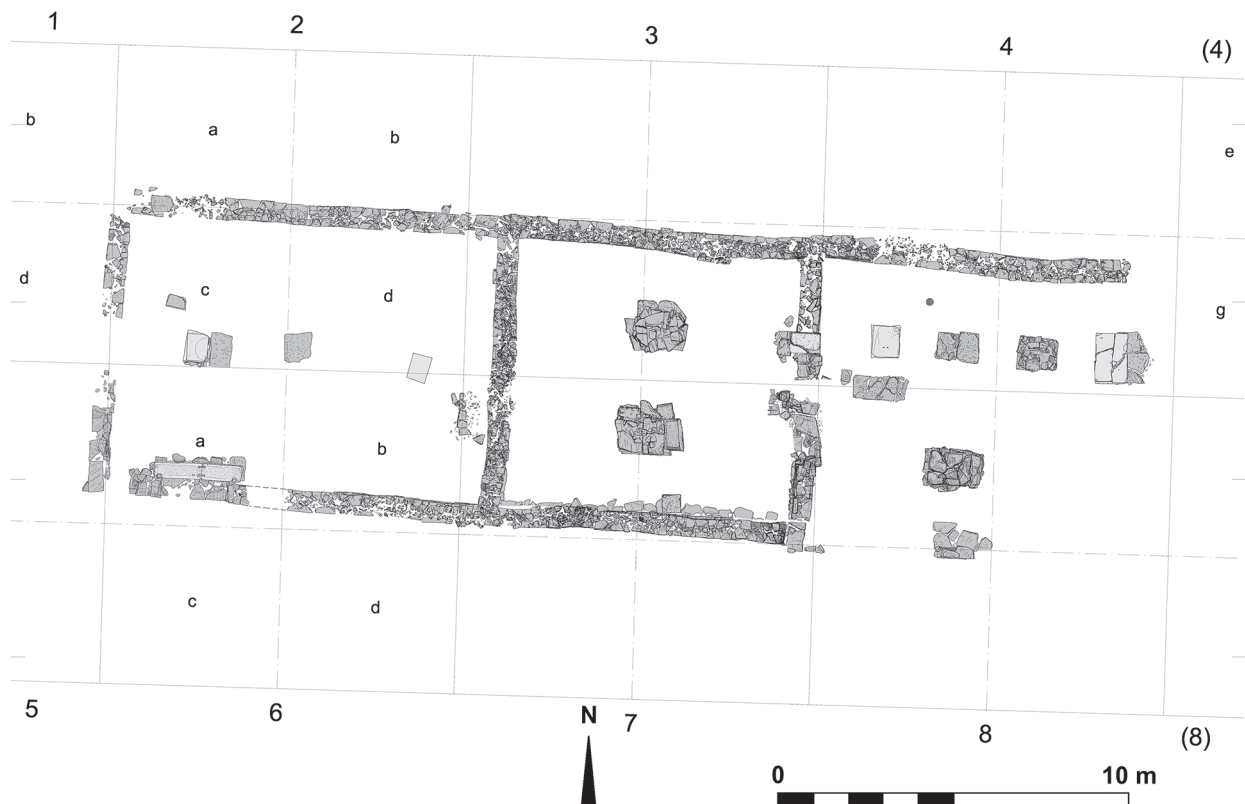


Figure 1. Çatallar Tepe. Archaic temple, ground plan (CAD-drawing: G. Kalaitzoglou).

sites around Güzelçamlı and identified a sanctuary on the hill Otomatik Tepe, as the *Panionion*.⁴

The survey of Mycale, undertaken in 2001 by H. Lohmann and his team, could resolve many questions concerning the topography of the region in antiquity.⁵ Among other things, archaeologists discovered the remains of an Archaic Ionic temple high up in the mountains, on the slopes of Mount Çatallar Tepe.⁶ It had been vandalised and was threatened by illegal digging; therefore the General Directorate of Museums and Antiquities of the Republic of Turkey permitted a rescue excavation at the site. This was carried out in three campaigns from 2005 to 2007 under the auspices of the museum of Aydın. During this excavation, the entire remains of the temple were uncovered.⁷

The temple is 28.8 m (approximately 100 feet) long, thus, it seems appropriate to call the building a *hekatompedos*. Its width is 8.6 m (c. 30 feet) and it is oriented towards

the east. The layout of the building combines a *pronaos* with eight interior columns in two rows with an almost quadrangular *naos*, which has two columns (centred above the remains of an older *naiskos*) and a large room in the western part of the building with three columns along the longitudinal axis. The building lacks a *krepis* and a *peristasis*; there is not even a prostyle front or a continuous step in front of the *pronaos* (FIGURE 1).

Not long after its construction, a disastrous fire destroyed the temple. The destruction layer in the western room contains the collapsed roof on the floor covered by the clay of the walls. The clay was partly reddened by the fire. The pottery sherds on top of the floor date to the first half and the middle of the 6th century BC; the fine wares, such as the Attic imports and especially a black-figured bowl (*kylix*) by the Tleson-painter, date the destruction to the decades around 550 BC.⁸ A. Busching and Ö. Özgül have shown that the roof-tiles and the style of the lion-head *antefixes* further corroborate this date.⁹ In my opinion, the same holds true for other architectural features of the building. We may thus conclude that, based on the archaeological

⁴ Herda 2006; Herda 2009; Hulek 2017a: 47 f; Kleiner *et al.* 1967; Lohmann 2014.

⁵ Hulek 2007: 118; Lohmann 2005b; Lohmann 2009: 70; Lohmann and Hartung 2014; Lohmann *et al.* 2007; Lohmann *et al.* 2017: 52–62; Tomlinson 2017.

⁶ Lohmann 2004; Lohmann 2005a; Lohmann 2007; Lohmann 2012; Lohmann 2017; Lohmann and Özgül 2017.

⁷ Büsing 2006; Büsing 2007; Kalaitzoglou 2007; Lohmann 2007; Lohmann 2013; Lohmann *et al.* 2017: 58–60.

⁸ Heesen 2011: 183–186, 293 pl. 78e no. 270; Kalaitzoglou 2007: 151–156, fig. 37; Lohmann 2012a: 46, fig. 4.10; Lohmann *et al.* 2017: 158, 613.

⁹ Busching 2013: 55–61; Özgül 2013: 160–163. Cf. Hulek 2017b: 85; Hulek 2018: 14–15, 149–150; Hulek and Kirchner 2016: 4; Ohnesorg 2016.

record, both the construction and the destruction of the temple are dated within narrow margins. The temple on Mount Çatallar Tepe can therefore be seen as a point of reference for the evolution of sacral architecture in Archaic Greece and especially in Ionia.

A singular feature of the building is the west room. It was neither accessed through the *pronaos* and *naos*, nor from the rear side of the building but, instead, through a door at the western end of the southern wall (FIGURE 1). It is of rectangular shape, 10.5 m long and 7.6 m wide. There were three columns along the room's longitudinal axis. A rectangular room, a row of columns along the long axis, and an off-centred door on the longer side are typical features of Archaic *hestiatoria* from the 7th century BC onwards.¹⁰ In the Greek world communal meals were usually taken in a reclined position. This helps explain the off-centred position of the door, which allowed for the couches (*klinai*) to be arranged along the walls.¹¹ Furthermore, doors in banqueting halls in Near Eastern context are placed next to the end of the wall as well, with this feature interpreted as obstructing curious onlookers.¹² This might have been the reason to position the door of the west room close to the western end of the wall.

Just like the door of the *naos*, the entrance to the west room was adorned with a monumental marble doorframe adjusted into the clay walls, the latter being proportionally smaller but better preserved. In front of the inner wall lay two clamped slabs. Sockets for the pivots and the bolt are cut into them. These slabs form the inner threshold, located behind the doorframe proper. Fragments of the doorframe have been identified and they help us reconstruct its shape and most of its measurements (FIGURE 2). During excavation, H. Büsing had considered two stone slabs, found *in situ*, to have abutted on the doorframe;¹³ during my work, however, these turned out to be exterior supports of the threshold.

The door opening was nearly 2 m wide and therefore probably more than 3 m high. The threshold, jambs and lintel were smooth marble beams with rectangular cross-sections and without any ornament. One could close and lock the door with two wooden leaves, which were joined with door hinges and pivoted at their upper and lower ends; fragments of the iron hardware have been identified. The lower pivots were set into sockets in the inner threshold. The upper pivots were supported by iron pivot hinges, fastened to the marble

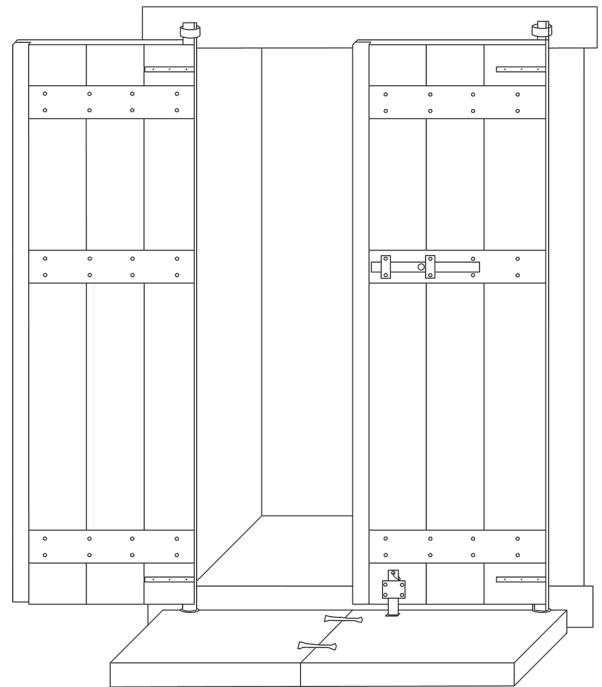


Figure 2. Çatallar Tepe. West room, graphic reconstruction of the door with a vertical bolt (drawing: F. Hulek).

lintel by means of lead. This iron hinge was found during excavation next to the door. So far, the only contemporary parallels had been known from the Near East.¹⁴

Those entering the west room saw the three marble columns standing on the longitudinal axis. They were base-less and unfluted; some had not yet been smoothed out by the time the temple was destroyed. Tools appropriate for this task have been found next to the position of one column during excavation.¹⁵ The capitals in the west room differed from those in the *pronaos* and probably also in the *naos*. While the latter had volutes of a rather peculiar composition, *torus* capitals without *abaci* lay on top of the columns in the west room.¹⁶ Their *tori* are horizontally fluted and 16 cm high (FIGURE 3). These *tori* cannot be explained as parts of column bases because the diameter of their top surfaces (c. 48 cm) is considerably smaller than that of the broadest drums. Moreover, their top is coarse and therefore suitable for bearing wooden beams, rather than marble column drums. This type of capital can be found e.g. on nearby Samos and in the Cyclades.¹⁷ Two types of capitals are to be found at the fourth Samian

¹⁰ Bergquist 1990: 27–37; Hellmann 2006: 220; Leypold 2008: 184; Lohmann 2012b: 108–112; Tomlinson 1990: 97–99.

¹¹ Börker 1983: 12–13; Goldstein 1978: 303; Leypold 2008: 152–156; Lohmann 2012a: 43; Lohmann 2012b: 101.

¹² Boysan-Dietrich 1987: 106; Naumann 1971: 171.

¹³ Büsing 2007: 163, figs. 48, 49; Lohmann 2007: 136; Lohmann 2012a: 44; Lohmann 2012b: 102.

¹⁴ Damerji 1973: 201, 239, figs. 78, 79; Unger 1913: 10, fig. 1.

¹⁵ Büsing 2007: 158, fig. 49; Kalaitzoglou 2007: 150, 153, fig. 36; Lohmann 2012a: 40, fig. 4.2.

¹⁶ Büsing 2007: 163.

¹⁷ Hendrich 2007: 28; Kienast 1992: 177.



Figure 3. Çatalar Tepe. Torus capital, fragmented (Inv. PA-S17, photo: H. Lohmann).

Heraion.¹⁸ There, the round capitals were probably set on the inner columns, thus taking into account the changing angle of view under which they were seen. The same type of capital has been presumed to be used also at the other two Archaic Ionian *dipteroi*.¹⁹ Therefore, the two different types of capitals employed for only thirteen columns at the temple on Mount Çatalar Tepe were appropriate to the different requirements of the front part of the building (*pronaos*, *naos*) and the west room, respectively.

The identification of the west room as a *hestiatorion* is corroborated by finds from inside the room, which can be described as typical *symposium* equipment.²⁰ The fragments of about 300 ceramic vessels have been found in the room. There were sieves, *amphorae* (both for storage and pouring), *hydriai*, jugs, bowls, and one-handed cups; yet, the vast majority were plates and drinking bowls (*kylikes*).²¹ Oil lamps have also been found and had probably been lit during banquets at night time. A perforated bronze sheet has been identified as a grater, which, in the context of wine consumption, was probably used to add spices or even cheese to the rather rich beverage.²² Two

ivory fragments may possibly be interpreted as parts of appliqué for wooden furniture like *klinai*.²³ Overall, this assemblage of vessels and objects clearly suggests that, in the west room, a community enjoyed feasting, drinking and conversation in a cultic context.

The great number of recovered vessels leads to the assumption that the room also functioned as a storeroom. The plates and bowls were probably used when the majority of the cult community ate and drank outside of the building.²⁴ But, as argued above, this was not the primary function of the west room, which is also much bigger than necessary for the storage of the items found in it; nor were the ceramics in question or the other finds of value that would have justified the construction of a sizable and rather lavish separate room.

There were at least eleven iron spearheads and a ferrule, as well as bronze sheets, which originally had been appliqué on wooden shields and linen (or leather) breastplates. All these weapons and their parts have been found next to the inner base of the walls, having fallen during the destruction by fire. They were probably fixed (or at least leant) onto the wall and were thus on display in the west room. This martial decoration provided an atmosphere appropriate for a society where status was -to a substantial extent- based on military skills.²⁵ These weapons, too, might have

¹⁸ Volute capitals and capitals with egg-and-dart. Cf. Gruben 2001: 362; Hendrich 2007: 36; Reuther 1957: 50; Rumscheid 1994: 307.

¹⁹ Ohnesorg 2007: 112; Schneider 1996: 80, n. 10, fig. 5.

²⁰ Kalaitzoglou 2007: 150–155; Lohmann 2012a: 46; Lohmann 2012b: 104–107. Cf. Bentz and Bumke 2013: 285; Ekroth 2017: 1401; Sommer 2009: 523.

²¹ Lohmann 2012a: 46; Lohmann 2012b: 104. On inventories of *hestiatoria*, cf. Tomlinson 1980: 221–224; Tomlinson 1990: 99.

²² Homer, *Iliad*, 11.632–641; Lohmann 2012b: 105, 118, fig. 5. Such graters have also been found in the *Artemision* at Ephesos (Kleibinder-Gauß 2007: 186, 274, pl. 93 nos 945, 946) and in the sanctuary on

‘Taxiarchis hill’ at Didyma (Bumke 2013: 342). Therefore, they were not as rare in western Asia Minor as Lohmann (2012b: 105) supposed.

²³ Lohmann 2007: 137.

²⁴ Ekroth 2017: 1391; Goldstein 1978: 8.

²⁵ Fehr 1971: 29, 138, 195, n. 169, nos 10, 11, 12, 15; Kalaitzoglou 2007:

been votive offerings to the deity venerated in the temple.²⁶

The front part of the building has the form of a simple temple with columns *in antis*. It consists of the –compared to the west room– relatively small and nearly square *naos* (8.05 m × c. 7.60 m) and a deep *pronaos* with eight columns (8.65 m × c. 7.60 m). Comparable *pronaoi* are a well-known element of the Ionic *dipteroi* and of some smaller Ionic temples.²⁷ At Mount Çatallar this number of columns was not necessary for the building's stability, as a static analysis has shown.²⁸ The number of columns seems, instead, to have metaphorically emphasised the prominence of the temple. In addition, it attained an imposing approach to the *naos*.

The above mentioned ground-plan combines two building types in an unparalleled way, because here the temple and the *hestiatorion* constitute separate units combined under one and the same roof.²⁹ *Hestiatoria*, as much as temples, are constitutive components of many Greek sanctuaries. Until the 7th century BC, benches, fireplaces and finds indicate the celebration of cultic meals inside some temples.³⁰ In the 6th century however, the temple and the *hestiatorion* have become separate types of buildings.³¹ Surprisingly, this is not the case at Mount Çatallar, where both functions are united under one roof, although not in the same room.

There are other examples of the combination of a temple and a banquet hall in the 6th century: the temple (of Apollo?) at Aliki on Thasos and building A in the sanctuary on Despotiko near Antiparos. In the Thasian temple, a hearth in one of the rooms attests to the preparation of cultic meals in the building; both rooms are adjacent and accessed through a shared colonnade.³² The excavators have interpreted one of the recently excavated buildings with two rooms on Despotiko as the temple of Apollo (FIGURE 4). Another unit of this building complex, which was attached later, has three rooms for *klinai*.³³ Here too, there was a colonnade in front of the rooms. These examples

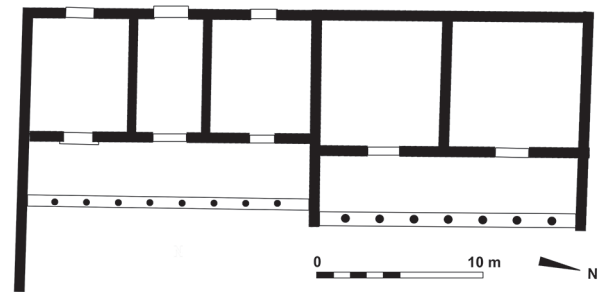


Figure 4. Despotiko (Cyclades). Building A, ground plan (after Kourayos *et al.* 2012: 100 fig. 7, drawing: A. Ohnesorg – S. Papagrigoriou – K. Papayanni).

illustrate that having cultic meals in a room closely linked to the temples was also desirable elsewhere. They also show that this requirement could be met in different ways.

As Tomlinson has put it,³⁴ Ionic architecture of the 6th century BC was very innovative in exploring new forms, both in architectural details and in ground-plans. Viewed from outside, the Archaic temple at Didyma seemed to be a large temple-building. But the interior was instead a ceremonial court, which united different venerated objects: the shrine with the cult image, the sacred laurel and the holy spring. In addition to housing these objects, the court also served cultic functions, for example, the oracle.³⁵ According to the excavator, A. Bammer, something similar may have occurred at Ephesos.³⁶

Abutting their *oikos* in the Delian sanctuary (FIGURE 5), the Naxians constructed a propylon in the mid-6th century, which was rebuilt in the late Archaic times. Later on, but still in the 6th century, they added a stoa.³⁷ The resulting complex of buildings consisted of three building types with at least three different functions, which, however, had not been planned as a unit but added over time.

According to A. Ohnesorg, the late Archaic propylon at the sanctuary of Yria on Naxos is a different matter. There, at the western limit of the sanctuary, a complex consisting of two dining rooms and a gate was constructed as one combined building, with a stoa added at a later date.³⁸ This late Archaic building

151, 153, fig. 36; Lohmann 2012a: 46; Lohmann 2012b: 106, 118–121, figs. 6–11. Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989: 114–116.

²⁶ Baitinger 2011: 128–130. Cf. the findings at Kalapodi (Niemeier 2013: 39) and Kythnos (Mazarakis Ainian 2005: 90–99; Mazarakis Ainian 2016: 20, fig. 2.3).

²⁷ Gruben 1996: 420–426; Gruben 2014, 174; Held 2000: 58–63; Tomlinson 1995: 30. Cf. Hennemeyer 2016: 329.

²⁸ Hulek 2018: 156–157. I thank J. Chatheril (Bochum) for his help with the calculations.

²⁹ A presumed parallel, the temple of Apollo at Halieis, was refuted by Bergquist 1990: 27–29, fig. 3 (but this was later contradicted by Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 164).

³⁰ Barletta 2001: 23; Martini 1986: 23–36; Mazarakis Ainian 1997: 340–349; Mazarakis Ainian 2016: 21.

³¹ Of the vast bibliography on this topic, see Lambrinoudakis 2005: 84; Schuitema 2008: 137–139; Sinn 2005: 87.

³² Börker 1983: 14, 24, fig. 7; Leybold 2008: 161–163, fig. 107; Servais 1980: 10–72; Schuller 1985: 358–361.

³³ Kourayos 2008: 388; Kourayos *et al.* 2012: 99–104, 116–124, 129–132.

³⁴ Koenigs 2007: 675; Tomlinson 1982; Tomlinson 1995: 28.

³⁵ Gruben 1963: 172; Slawisch 2013: 57, fig. 10; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994: 45–48; Tuchelt 1991: 86, fig. 1.

³⁶ Bammer 1993: 138–166; Bammer 2008: 451–454, figs. 2, 4. Cf. Bumke 2011: 255–260; Kerschner and Prochaska 2011: 108–117; Mohr 2013: 24; Slawisch 2016: 188.

³⁷ Courbin 1980: 40, 61, 128, 132; Gruben 1997: 301–307, 350–356, 366, figs. 5, 21.

³⁸ Gruben 1997: 354, 397, fig. 70; Lambrinoudakis 2005: 83; Mazarakis

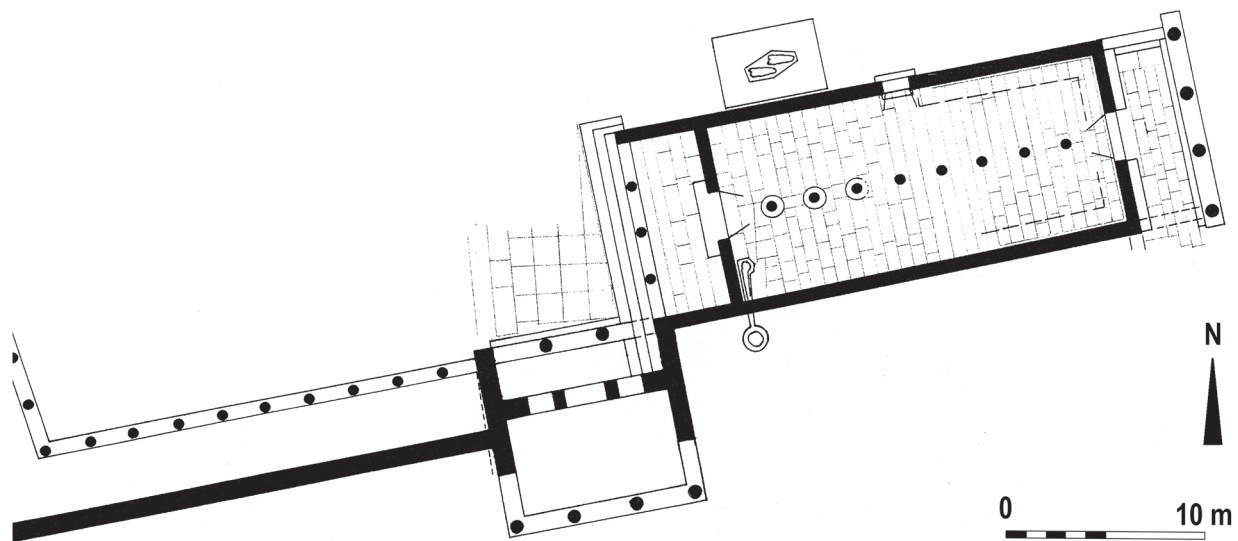


Figure 5. Delos (Cyclades). *Oikos* of the Naxians and adjoining buildings (drawing: after Gruben 1997: 309, fig. 22).

program joined in one complex functions necessary on the site, which had until then been served by several earlier buildings; this complex consisted of buildings of different types (propylon, *hestiatorion*). The same holds true also for the middle Archaic temple on Mount Çatallar Tepe, which is a combined building consisting of a temple part and a *hestiatorion*.

Thus we see that the architects of the period and especially in Ionia were not limited by a set of architectural rules but, instead, they could freely choose the ground plan most appropriate for the requirements of the cult. Different functions and cult places were integrated into one combined structure. In the temple at Mount Çatallar Tepe, an important site was the place of the older *naiskos* of the 7th century BC, which served as a temple and a place for feasting. The *naos* of the temple of the 6th century is centred above the remains of the older structure, overlaying it with reverence. As we know from at least three hearth sites found in and around the old *naiskos* and the analysis of both ceramic finds and faunal remains, meals were also an important part of the cult of the 7th century.³⁹

In the sanctuary of the 6th century, however, a certain group of people claimed a special, representative place for their cultic meals and their community, directly linked to the house of the god. According to H. Lohmann's reasoning, these were the representatives of the Ionian *poleis* when gathering at the *Panionion*.⁴⁰ Be

that as it may,⁴¹ we can suppose that they belonged to the aristocratic society of the 6th century BC.

Frank Hulek
f.hulek@uni-koeln.de

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Ainian 2016: 27; Ohnesorg 2005: 138, fig. 3; Ohnesorg 2013: 231, pls 31, 32.

³⁹ Lohmann and Özgül 2017: 68–69; Obermaier 2013: 213.

⁴⁰ cf. Lohmann 2004: 41; Lohmann 2005a: 86; Lohmann 2012a: 49; Lohmann 2014: 5; Lohmann 2017: 52; Lohmann et al. 2017: 106.

⁴¹ For a dissenting view, see Herda 2006; Herda 2009; Herda 2013: 427; Hoepfner 2011: 29; Rumscheid 2009: 191. On a discussion, see Hulek 2017a: 47; Lohmann 2014: 77; Mac Sweeney 2017: 395; Paganoni 2014: 48–50; Slawisch 2016: 188; Tomlinson 2017: 432.

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